

~~SECRET~~

CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

9 August 1960

MEMORANDUM FOR: Mr. Allan Evans, State (INR)
Colonel B. R. Brown, USA (ACSI)
Captain A. D. Kilmartin, USN (ONI)
Colonel R. M. Lawson, USAF (AFCIN 2B3)
Colonel J. H. McCann, USAF (J-2, The Joint Staff)
[redacted] Acting Director of
Operational Services, NSA
Mr. Randolph V. Zander, Defense (OSO)

50X1

SUBJECT: NIE 77-60: PROBABLE DEVELOPMENTS IN NIGERIA

1. The attached terms of reference were agreed on at the meeting of the USIB representatives on 9 August 1960.
2. All agencies are invited to contribute to any section within their competence.
3. It is requested that contributions be received in this office by the close of business on 20 September.
4. The USIB target date for this estimate is 8 November.

Chester L. Cooper
CHESTER L. COOPER
Deputy Assistant Director
National Estimates

DISTRIBUTION B

~~SECRET~~

SECRET

C E N T R A L I N T E L L I G E N C E A G E N C Y

9 August 1960

SUBJECT: TERMS OF REFERENCE: NIE 77-60: PROBABLE DEVELOPMENTS
IN NIGERIA

THE PROBLEM

To estimate probable developments in Nigeria over the next
two years.

SCOPE

In last year's estimate, NIE 70-59, "The Outlook in West Africa
Through 1960," dated 16 June 1959, we concluded that "Nigeria may
emerge as the strongest state in the area," but this would depend
on its ability to overcome "divisive tendencies which hamper
the development of national unity."

The present estimate will consider the extent to which this,
and related judgments in NIE 70-59 should be reaffirmed, altered,

SECRET

SECRET

or expanded in the light of Nigeria's becoming independent in October, last year's national elections, and other recent developments. An assessment of the capabilities of the government to maintain internal security, both over the short and long run, will be basic to this discussion. In addition, we envision a discussion of Nigeria's international position in Africa, with special emphasis on its continental leadership potential.

QUESTIONS BEARING ON THE PROBLEM

I. THE POLITICAL SCENE

In the political scene principal emphasis should be placed on the primary internal problem: prospects for the development of national unity in the face of great regional, ethnic and religious diversity. Briefly describe the nature of Nigeria's political society. What are the major political forces at work in the country? Their strengths, weaknesses, and the quality of their leaders. What are the major political issues? To what extent is pressure for socio-economic progress a factor in the situation? How is it made manifest? How effective is the

SECRET

administrative system? How long are British advisers likely to be retained? How will Nigerian internal developments be affected by the influence and example of Nkrumah and other African leaders? Evaluate the strength, influence and capabilities of the Communists.

II. THE ECONOMIC SCENE

Describe briefly the status of the economy and its important elements. What are the prospects for economic expansion sufficient to assume at least general stability? What are the current trends in the economy? Are they likely to continue? What are the weak spots in the economy? To what degree is the economy dependent upon outside investment? On exports? What is the general level of outside assistance? Investment? What are the prospects for continued UK assistance at current levels? What are plans and aspirations for assistance from other sources, including the US? What are likely to be the pressures for rapid "Nigerianization" of commercial organizations? How is this likely to affect foreign businesses and investment? What is the status of and prospects for Nigeria's economic relations with the Communist Bloc?

SECRET

III. THE MILITARY SITUATION

What are the strengths, capabilities, political or tribal loyalties, racial composition, and reliability of the armed forces, and security forces? What are their attitudes toward constitutional order and communism? Are specific high level military figures ambitious for power? Will UK military personnel remain in Nigeria as members of the armed forces, as training officers, or in other functions? What are the prospects of the proposed Nigeria/UK Defense Pact? What are the chances that Nigeria will seek arms or training assistance from other sources? What is the government's policy likely to be with respect to the use of force generally, and, specifically, in the case of tribal and regional disputes?

IV. INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

In general, what foreign policies will Nigeria be likely to pursue? What is its likely attitude toward foreign bases and installations, such as tracking stations, in Nigeria? Elsewhere in Africa? To what extent will anticolonialism play a role in the conduct of its policies? What position is Nigeria likely to assume in the Afro-Asian bloc? In the Commonwealth? To what extent can Nigeria assume a leadership role in Africa? Will, or can, Nigeria blunt pan-African moves? What is likely to be the

SECRET

nature of Nigerian relations with members of the French African Community? Are strained relations in prospect with the Cameroons over the question of the Cameroons Trust Territories? What orientation is it likely to have in the Cold War? Will Nigeria seek diplomatic relations with the Bloc?

V. THE OUTLOOK

What is the overall outlook for stability in Nigeria? Will Nigerian political leaders be able to develop a workable system of government which will reconcile regional differences? Are the leading political personalities likely to be able to work together? What are the prospects for increased Communist influence in Nigeria? What is the outlook for Nigeria's international position? Is Nigeria's economic position likely to affect seriously her political orientation?

VI. POST MORTEM

What major deficiencies were revealed during the preparation of your contribution?

VII. VALIDITY STUDY

Briefly give your thoughts on the validity of NIE 70-59.

- 5 -

SECRET

SECRET

VIII. MAP AND CHARTS

CIA/ONE suggests an updating of the general map of West Africa (No. 27654) included with NIE 70-59, and the preparation of a new map of Nigeria.

- 6 -

SECRET